

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ADDIS 00001 221620Z

66

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-07 NSC-07 SPC-03 SS-20 RSC-01

CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 OCL-00 DODE-00 IGA-02 EB-11

EUR-25 EA-11 L-03 TRSE-00 OMB-01 MC-02 OC-06 DRC-01

/129 W

----- 056488

R 221504Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8150

INFO AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMCONSUL ASMARA

USCINCEUR

S E C R ET SECION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 3234

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MASS, ET, US

SUBJ: EMBASSY/MAAG RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING LEVELS

OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA IN FISCAL

YEARS 1975 AND 1976

### INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

1. AS BOTH DRAFT ANNUAL US POLICY ASSESSMENT AND RECENT INSPECTION REPORT FOR THIS POST EMPHASIZE, A MAJOR ISSUE FOR US POLICY TOWARDS ETHIOPIA IN NEXT TWO YEARS WILL BE LEVEL OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM.

2. THIS TELEGRAM IS LIMITED TO MOST FUNDAMENTAL ASPECTS OF THIS POLICY ISSUE AND WILL DISCUSS RELATIVE MERITS OF FOUR ALTERNATIVE COURSES OF ACTION: (1) TO INCREASE PROGRAM SUBSTANTIALLY; (2) TO RAPIDLY ELIMINATE PROGRAM; (3) TO PLAN ON GRADUAL REDUCTION; OR (4) TO OBTAIN MAXIMUM MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR ETHIOPIA WHICH IS POSSIBLE WITHIN CONSTRAINTS OF CONGRESSIONALLY AUTHORIZED WORLDWIDE PROGRAM AND US PRIORITIES ELSEWHERE, ANTICIPATING THAT THIS WOULD AT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 ADDIS 00001 221620Z

MOST MEAN SMALL INCREASE IN CURRENT LEVEL. WE BELIEVE FOURTH

ALTERNATIVE IS PREFERABLE FOR REASONS SET FORTH BELOW.

3. OUR ARGUMENTATION IS BASED ON ASSUMPTIONS THAT ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT IN POWER WILL CONTINUE TO REGARD SOMALI THREAT AS A GRAVE ONE TO NATIONAL SECURITY AND THAT MAJOR PROCUREMENT OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT WILL NOT BE MADE FROM CHINA. SHOULD THESE ASSUMPTIONS PROVE INCORRECT A RE-EXAMINATION OF ISSUE WOULD BE NECESSARY.

STRATEGY (1): INCREASE PROGRAM SUBSTANTIALLY

4. ALTHOUGH RESPECTABLE ARGUMENTS COULD BE SET FORTH FOR THIS STRATEGY, THEY WOULD CLEARLY BE INSUFFICIENT TO OUTWEIGH THE MAJOR COUNTER-ARGUMENT. GIVEN DWINDLING RESOURCES WHICH CONGRESS IS WILLING TO PROVIDE FOR MILITARY ASSISTANCE ON WORLDWIDE BASIS, AND GIVEN PRESSING NEEDS FOR SUCH ASSISTANCE IN VARIOUS AREAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO US, A SIGNIFICANT INCREASE IN PROGRAM FOR ETHIOPIA COULD NOT BE JUSTIFIED UNLESS IT IS DECIDED IN WASHINGTON THAT PRESENT AND FUTURE US INTERESTS IN ETHIOPIA ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN IS EVIDENT TO THIS EMBASSY AT THIS WRITING.

STRATEGY (2): RAPIDLY ELIMINATE THE PROGRAM

5. AN ARGUMENT COULD BE MADE THAT KAGNEW HAS BEEN PRINCIPAL RATIONALE FOR US ASSISTANCE PROGRAM AND THAT, WITH ITS PHASE-DOWN AND PROBABLE DISAPPEARANCE WITHIN NEXT FEW YEARS, IT WOULD MAKE SENSE TO ELIMINATE MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM ENTIRELY.

6. WHAT WOULD BE REACTION OF IEG IF WE SHOULD DO THIS?

7. GIVEN ENORMOUS CONCERN WHICH ETHIOPIAN LEADERS HAVE REGARDING SOMALI THREAT, AND GIVEN ETHIOPIA'S VIRTUALLY COMPLETE DEPENDENCE UP TO NOW ON US MILITARY ASSISTANCE, IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE ANY OTHER SINGLE ACTION USG COULD TAKE WHICH WOULD WREAK SO MUCH DAMAGE IN ETHIOPIA TO OUR PRESTIGE, OUR REPUTATION, AND ETHIOPIAN DESIRE TO COOPERATE WITH US. GOVERNMENT LEADERS WOULD INEVITABLY CONSIDER SUCH A POLICY AS SLAP IN FACE, A BETRAYAL, AND/OR A COMPLETE LOSS  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 ADDIS 00001 221620Z

OF INTEREST IN ETHIOPIAN SECURITY. CONTINUATION OF US ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WOULD HAVE SOME BRAKING EFFECT ON THIS REACTION, BUT DAMAGE TO ETHIOPIAN RESPECT AND REGARD FOR US WOULD BE EXTENSIVE.

8. HOW MUCH DIFFERENCE WOULD THIS REACTION MAKE TO US INTERESTS?

9. USG SHOULD NOT CHOOSE A STRATEGY INVOLVING SUCH DAMAGE TO ITS BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH A LONG-ESTABLISHED FRIEND UNLESS ITS INTEREST IN THAT COUNTRY HAS BECOME NEGLIGIBLE. THAT IS NOT THE CASE WITH ETHIOPIA. POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE OF PORT, LANDING, AND OVERFLIGHT RIGHTS IN ETHIOPIA CAN HARDLY BE DISMISSED IN VIEW DIFFICULTY OF US ACCESS TO MIDDLE EAST IN TIME OF WAR, ENORMOUS STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF ARABIAN PENINSULA, BALANCE OF US-SOVIET POWER IN INDIAN OCEAN, IMMINENT REOPENING OF SUEZ CANAL, UNCERTAINTY REGARDING FUTURE HOME PORT FOR MIDDLE EAST FORCE NOW BASED IN BAHRAIN, AND UNCERTAINTIES REGARDING FUTURE EXPANSION OF US FACILITIES AT DIEGO GARCIA. WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT NO CONCEIVABLE AMERICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM FOR ETHIOPIA WOULD NECESSARILY GUARANTEE USG THE ABILITY TO USE EMPIRE'S TERRITORY FOR ITS PURPOSES IN AN EMERGENCY, SUCH A PROGRAM INCREASES LIKELIHOOD OF SAME. NOR CAN WE IGNORE TENNECO'S EXPECTATIONS OF EXPORTING LARGE QUANTITIES OF ETHIOPIAN NATURAL GAS TO US, ITS RECENT DISCOVERY OF RICH COPPER DEPOSITS IN ERITREA, AND CONTINUING POSSIBILITY OF EXTENSIVE DISCOVERIES OF OIL IN OGADEN.

10. SECONDLY, HOW WOULD A STRATEGY OF DELIBERATELY TERMINATING MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA LOOK TO REST OF WORLD?

11. LEAVING ASIDE NATO ALLIES, FEW COUNTRIES ARE AS CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH US IN EYES OF WORLD AS ETHIOPIA. MOREOVER, IT IS WIDELY KNOWN THAT IN MILITARY ASSISTANCE FIELD ETHIOPIA HAS RELIED ALMOST 100 PERCENT ON US. IT THEREFORE APPEARS FROM HERE THAT ABRUPT TERMINATION OF US MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM WOULD CAUSE CONSIDERABLE SHOCK IN COUNTRIES WHICH FOR REASONS OF THEIR OWN ARE CONSTANTLY RE-EXAMINING VALUE AND RELIABILITY OF US SUPPORT. REACTION OF MANY GOVERNMENTS MIGHT WELL BE: "IF USG IS WILLING

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 ADDIS 00001 221620Z

ABANDON ETHIOPIANS IN PERIOD THEY CONSIDER ONE OF GREATEST PERIL, HOW MUCH CREDENCE SHOULD BE PLACED IN AMERICANS?" SUCH REACTION SEEMS ALL THE MORE PROBABLE INASMUCH AS WE ARE UNLIKELY TO CONVINCE OTHER GOVERNMENTS THAT OUR REGIONAL INTERESTS, ENCOMPASSING AS THEY DO MIDDLE EASTERN AS WELL AS INDIAN OCEAN AND ENERGY FACETS OF CENTRAL IMPORTANCE TO US, ARE NOT ENOUGH TO CALL FOR A SPECIAL USG POSITION IN RED SEA RIPARIAN ETHIOPIA -- KAGNEW OR NO KAGNEW.

12. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT BOTH IMPACT ON US-ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS AND CREDIBILITY OF US WITH OTHER COUNTRIES, WE CONSIDER THAT DISADVANTAGES OF A DELIBERATE DECISION TO RAPI  
E E E E E E E



## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** NATIONAL SECURITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 22 MAR 1974  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** golinofr  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1974ADDIS00001  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D740062-0418  
**From:** ADDIS ABABA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1974/newtext/t19740324/aaaaavxy.tel  
**Line Count:** 161  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION AF  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** golinofr  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:** ANOMALY  
**Review Date:** 27 AUG 2002  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <27 AUG 2002 by shawdg>; APPROVED <08 JAN 2003 by golinofr>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** EMBASSY/MAAG RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING LEVELS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO ETHIOPIA IN FISCAL  
**TAGS:** PFOR, MASS, ET, US  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005